

TOP SECRET

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FROM THE SITUATION ROOM TOHAK 259

YFSZO RODMAN/LORD FOR DR KISSINGER

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T O P S E C R E T/SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY WH30632

TOHAK 259

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

FEBRUARY 18, 1973

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT
TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER
REF: HAK TO 98

State Dept. review completed

1. YOUR HAK TO 98 HAS BEEN DELIVERED TO ~~THE PRESIDENT~~

ORVETDOYS

2. VORONISOV JUST CALLED WITH WORD FROM MOSCOW ABOUT THE MFN LEGISLATION. THEY LEAVE THE TACTICS COMPLETELY UP TO OUR BEST JUDGMENT AND ARE INTERESTED ONLY IN THE FINAL RESULTS.

3. IN ORDER TO GIVE YOU A FLAVOR OF WHAT IS PLANNED, FOLLOWING IS A FIRST REPEAT FIRST DRAFT OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO THE SOUTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO SOUTH CAROLINA STATE ASSEMBLY, COLUMBIA, S.C.

ON TUESDAY EVENING, JANUARY 23RD, I ANNOUNCED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT WE HAD ACHIEVED A GREAT AND LONG-SOUGHT GOAL -- PEACE WITH HONOR.

SINCE THEN I HAVE BEEN DEEPLY MOVED BY THE MANY MESSAGES COMING TO THE WHITE HOUSE FROM INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY. ONE OF THE FIRST TO REACH ME WAS THE RESOLUTION OF THIS ASSEMBLY ENDORSING THE PEACE SETTLEMENT AND EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT "THE END OF THE WAR WILL MARK THE BEGINNING OF AN AMERICA UNIFIED IN SPIRIT AND PURPOSE."

THROUGHOUT THIS LONG ORDEAL, SOUTH CAROLINA HAS LED THE WAY IN AMONG THE STATES IN SUPPORTING THE GOAL OF PEACE WITH HONOR. IT WAS ONLY FITTING THEN, THAT YOU WERE ALSO THE FIRST STATE TO OFFICIALLY JOIN IN CELEBRATING PEACE WHEN IT CAME.

TODAY I AM HERE TO EXPRESS MY PERSONAL THANKS TO YOU, AND TO THE TWO AND ONE HALF MILLION SOUTH CAROLINIANS YOU REPRESENT, AND THE MILLIONS OF OTHER AMERICANS WHO STEADFASTLY SUPPORTED OUR EFFORTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

YOU WILL NEVER KNOW HOW MUCH IT HAS MEANT TO ME TO REALIZE THAT IN THE STORM OF PROTEST AND CONTROVERSY DURING THE PAST FOUR YEARS, I COULD ALWAYS COUNT ON THE PATRIOTISM AND FORESIGHT OF PEOPLE LIKE YOU.

THERE WERE TIMES WHEN THOSE OF LESSER VISION DESPAIRED, BUT YOUR FAITH NEVER FALTERED.

IT STAYED STRONG, AND IT HELPED US FIND THE WAY TO PEACE.

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* EVERY WAR AND EVERY PEACE HAS ITS ROLL OF HONOR--A LIST OF THE MEN AND WOMEN WHOM HISTORY REMEMBERS AS THE ONES WHO HAD THAT EXTRA MEASURE OF COURAGE, VISION AND RESOLVE NEEDED TO WEATHER A GREAT NATIONAL ORDEAL.

EVEN IN THE DARKEST HOURS OF THE VIETNAM WAR THAT ROLL HAS BEEN A LONG ONE FOR AMERICA, AND I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER PLATFORM THAN GOSIS FROM WHICH TO THANK SOME OF THOSE WHO PLAYED A SPECIAL PART IN HELPING TO SETTLE THE LONGEST WAR IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.

IT SAYS A GREAT DEAL ABOUT AMERICA'S MORAL FIBER THAT, WHILE SOME OF THE CRITICISM AND DIVISIVENESS CAME FROM A FEW WHO SACRIFICED THE LEAST, THE STRONGEST MOST UNSELFISH SUPPORT OF ALL CAME FROM THOSE WHO SACRIFICED THE MOST.

THEIR OWN WORDS, SIMPLE BUT DEEPLY MOVING, RECALL A HEROISM THAT FUTURE GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS WILL LOOK BACK TO WITH PRIDE.

I AM THINKING, FOR EXAMPLE, OF A LETTER FROM THE WIDOW OF AN AIR FORCE CAPTAIN WHO DIED IN VIETNAM:

"WE, THE SURVIVORS OF THOSE WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES," SHE WROTE, "CAN ALWAYS BE PROUD OF THE FLAG UNDER WHICH OUR HUSBANDS, FATHERS, AND SONS FOUGHT AND DIED, KNOWING THAT THEY DID NOT DIE IN VAIN, BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM NOW HAVE THE RIGHT TO GOVERN THEMSELVES."

OR CONSIDER THE WORDS OF THE MOTHER OF A GREEN BERET OFFICER WHO ALSO DIED SERVING HIS COUNTRY IN INDOCHINA:

"AS A MOTHER OF A YOUNG MAN WHO GAVE HIS LIFE IN THIS WAR, I FELT VERY STRONGLY ABOUT WANTING AN HONORABLE PEACE AGREEMENT. HAD YOU AGREED TO ANYTHING LESS THAN OUR TERMS," SHE WROTE ME, "YOU WOULD HAVE LET DOWN NOT ONLY THE BOYS REMAINING IN VIETNAM, BUT ALSO ALL THOSE WHO DIED IN THIS WAR."

MY HUSBAND AND I FACED CRITICISM IN A WAY TOO," SHE ADDED. "PEOPLE WOULD REMARK 'YOU OF ALL PEOPLE SHOULD WANT THIS WAR TO END AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ON ANY TERMS.' NOT SO. WE FELT IT WOULD MAKE OUR SON'S DEATH A MOCKERY. IT WAS DIFFICULT ENOUGH TO ACCEPT IT, BUT TO KNOW IT WAS ALL IN VAIN WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE OF A TRAGEDY. WE FEEL THAT OUR SON JAMES, WOULD HAVE FELT AS WE DO AND SUPPORTED YOUR POLICY."

YES, IT WAS THOSE WHO GAVE THE MOST THAT GAVE MOST BRAVELY AND UNSELFISHLY. IF THE JUSTICE OF A CAUSE CAN BE MEASURED BY THE DEVOTION OF THOSE WHO SERVE IT, WE CAN REST ASSURED THAT OUR CAUSE IN VIETNAM WAS A JUST ONE.

A FEW DAYS AGO, ANOTHER INSPIRING VOICE WAS HEARD BY AMERICANS WHEN THE FIRST OF OUR RETURNING PRISONERS OF WAR PROUDLY SALUTED THE AMERICAN FLAG AND, SUMMED UP THE SPIRIT OF OUR GALLANT POW'S:

WE ARE HONORED TO HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE OUR COUNTRY UNDER DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES," CAPTAIN JEREMIAH DENTON SAID, AND HE ENDED WITH THREE SIMPLE WORDS: "GOD BLESS AMERICA." I WAS NEVER PROUDER TO BE AN AMERICAN THAN AT THAT MOMENT.

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IN THE YEARS AHEAD, WHEN PASSIONS HAVE COOLED, LET THIS BE THE SPIRIT OF ALL OF US. LET US BE GRATEFUL THAT, IN A DIFFICULT, WE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE OUR COUNTRY, AND LET US GIVE THANKS TO GOD THAT WHEN THE OPPORTUNITY CAME, MILLIONS OF COURAGEOUS MEN AND WOMEN RESPONDED, AS THEY ALWAYS HAVE, WITH THE FULL MEASURE OF THEIR DEVOTION. FOR AS LONG AS OUR NATION PRODUCES HEROES IN THEIR MOLD, IT CAN TRULY BE SAID THAT GOD HAS BLESSED AMERICA.

THERE ARE MANY OTHER NAMES ON OUR VIETNAM ROLL OF HONOR. THEY COME FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE AND EVERY PART OF THE COUNTRY. DIFFERENT IN SO MANY WAYS, THEY WERE UNITED IN THEIR LOVE OF COUNTRY, AND THEIR ABILITY TO SEE BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE PAIN AND UNCERTAINTIES OF WAR TO THE GOAL OF PEACE WHICH WAS ALWAYS BEFORE THOSE OF US WILLING TO SEE IT.

THERE WERE THE AVERAGE WORKING PEOPLE WHO NEVER LOST THEIR FAITH IN THE GOODNESS AND THE GREATNESS OF THIS NATION OF OURS.

THESE MILLIONS OF AVERAGE PEOPLE STOOD FIRM. AND WHEN OUR ENEMIES FINALLY RECOGNIZED THIS, THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE QUIET BUT DEEPLY ROOTED UNITY OF THE AMERICAN MAJORITY CONVINCED THEM THAT THE TIME FOR PEACE HAD COME.

THERE WERE THE BRAVE VOICES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND THE CONGRESS WHO STOOD BY OUR CAUSE. THEY, TOO, FOUGHT THE BATTLE FOR AN HONORABLE PEACE, AND THEY, TOO, ARE PART OF OUR NATION'S ROLL OF HONOR.

HERE, TOO, SOUTH CAROLINA HELPED TO LEAD THE WAY, WITH A SOLID DELEGATION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND WITH AN UNTIRING CHAMPION IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, MY OLD AND VALUED FRIEND STROM THURMOND.

ANOTHER SENATOR WHO COMES ESPECIALLY TO MIND TODAY IS JOHN STENNIS OF MISSISSIPPI, A GREAT SOUTHERNER AND A GREAT AMERICAN. NO MAN IN CONGRESS HAS DONE MORE FOR AN HONORABLE PEACE. AND AS I HAVE NOTED IN THE PAST, WITHOUT HIS VOICE AND HIS LEADERSHIP IN THE CONGRESS, WE COULD NOT HAVE ATTAINED IT.

TODAY, JOHN STENNIS IS FIGHTING ANOTHER BATTLE WITH THE SAME COURAGE AND STRENGTH HE DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE. I KNOW I SPEAK FOR ALL AMERICANS WHEN I SAY THAT OUR PRAYERS AND HOPES ARE WITH JOHN STENNIS AS HE LIES IN HIS HOSPITAL BED.

AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT HIS STRENGTH OF HEART AND SOUL WILL SEE HIM THROUGH TO A FULL RECOVERY, JUST AS IT HELPED TO SEE AMERICA THROUGH TO A FULL AND JUST SETTLEMENT IN VIETNAM.

HAVING EXPRESSED OUR GRATITUDE TO SOME OF THOSE WHO HELPED US WIN THIS PEACE, I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF THE ACHIEVEMENT ITSELF.

FOR THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS, IT IS A RIGHTFUL SOURCE OF PRIDE.

IT RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM WHO HAVE FOUGHT SO LONG AND SO BRAVELY FOR THAT RIGHT.

IT PROVIDES FOR THE RETURN OF ALL AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR AND THE FULLEST ACCOUNTING FOR ALL AMERICANS MISSING IN ACTION.

IT PROVIDES FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED CEASEFIRE TO HELP END THE BLOODSHED IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

AND AS I NOTED ON JANUARY 23RD, WE CONTINUE TO RECOGNIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND SHALL CONTINUE TO AID IT AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF INDO CHINA WITHIN THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT.

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YET EVEN BEFORE THE CHURCH BELLS HAD CEASED THEIR TOLLING, AND WHILE MILLIONS OF HEADS WERE STILL BOWED IN PRAYERS OF THANKSGIVING, THERE WERE SOME WHO PROTESTED THE TERMS OF THIS SETTLEMENT. LET US REMEMBER THAT THEY WERE THE SAME ONES WHO SAID WE COULD NEVER ACHIEVE AN HONORABLE PEACE--AND HAD WE FOLLOWED THEIR ADVICE, I'M SURE WE NEVER WOULD HAVE.

IT REQUIRED PATIENCE AND ENDURANCE TO REACH THIS AGREEMENT AND IT IS GOING TO REQUIRE PATIENCE AND ENDURANCE TO MAKE IT WORK. IT WILL REQUIRE MUTUAL RESTRAINT ON THE PART OF THE WORLD'S MAJOR POWERS, SCRUPULOUS COMPLIANCE WITH ALL THE AGREEMENT'S PROVISIONS, AND THE CONTINUING STRONG SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. I HAVE FAITH THAT THIS WILL BE FORTHCOMING.

IF THERE IS ONE THING I FEEL WE CAN COUNT ON TODAY, AFTER THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST FOUR YEARS, IT IS THE PRAYER AND SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--NOT MERELY FOR AN INDIVIDUAL LEADER--BUT FOR AMERICA'S SECURITY AND HONOR AS A NATION.

GIVEN THIS CONTINUED SPIRIT AT HOME, THERE IS STRONG REASON TO HOPE THAT THE PEACE IN INDOCHINA CAN LEAD TO NEW PATTERN OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS AROUND THE WORLD--AN ERA IN WHICH OLD ADVERSARIES AND TRUSTED ALLIES JOIN TOGETHER IN THE GREAT WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION AND RECONCILIATION.

YET EVEN BEFORE THE CHURCH BELLS HAD CEASED THEIR TOLLING, AND WHILE MILLIONS OF HEADS WERE STILL BOWED IN PRAYERS OF THANKSGIVING, THERE WERE SOME WHO PROTESTED THE TERMS OF THIS SETTLEMENT. LET US REMEMBER THAT THEY WERE THE SAME ONES WHO SAID WE COULD NEVER ACHIEVE AN HONORABLE PEACE -- AND HAD WE FOLLOWED THEIR ADVICE, I'M SURE WE NEVER WOULD HAVE.

THESE ARE THE GOALS THAT MILLION AMERICANS SERVED FOR IN VIETNAM, THAT COUNTLESS OTHERS SACRIFICED FOR, AND FOR WHICH THOUSAND GAVE THEIR LIVES.

ONLY BY DOING OUR UTMOST TO MAKE THIS A LASTING PEACE, CAN WE PROVE OURSELVES WORTHY OF THEIR SACRIFICE.

~~FROM DOING SO~~ ~~NEED DOING SO~~ WILL NOT BE EASY. ALREADY WE HEAR SOME VOICES SAYING THAT AMERICA SHOULD NOW TURN INWARD, WITHDRAW FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD AND FORGET OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AS A NATION.

THIS IS SOMETHING WE SHOULD NOT AND MUST NOT DO. PEACE CANNOT GROW IN A CLIMATE OF NEGLECT -- BUILDING IT AND KEEPING IT REQUIRE FAR MORE THAN LIP SERVICE AND AN OCCASIONAL PLATITUDE. THEY REQUIRE STRENGTH, PATIENCE AND RESOLVE.

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENTS OF PEACE WITH HONOR IN VIETNAM IS THAT IT PROVED TO OUR ALLIES AROUND THE WORLD, AND TO ANY POTENTIAL ENEMIES AS WELL, THAT THE UNITED STATES IS A DEPENDABLE ALLY.

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ALL THE POWER IN THE WORLD -- ALL OF THE MATERIAL STRENGTH THE UNITED STATES CAN MUSTER AND ALL OF THE TREATIES WE HAVE PUT OUR NAME TOO -- WOULD BE WORTHLESS IF WE WERE TO LOOSE OUR CREDIBILITY AS THE FOREMOST NATION IN THE FREE WORLD.

WITHOUT OUR INTEGRITY, WE WOULD BE HELPLESS AND POWERLESS.

OUR PEOPLE ARE STILL STRONG IN COURAGE AND COMPASSION. FOR THIS REASON, THE STAND WE TOOK IN A SMALL AND SEEMINGLY REMOTE CORNER OF THE WORLD IS MORE THAN JUST AND INSPIRING BUT ISOLATED INCIDENT. IT HAS BECOME ONE OF THE MAJOR BUILDING BLOCKS IN THE STRUCTURE FOR PEACE AND WORLD ORDER THAT WE ARE PURSUING TODAY.

THE ROAD TO A LASTING PEACE IS NEVER AN EASY ONE. DIFFICULT, TAXING NEGOTIATIONS LIE AHEAD. BUT AS WE CONTINUE OUR TALKS ON ARMS REDUCTION, ON THE FUTURE OF NATO, AND ON THE MANY OTHER WAYS IN WHICH PEACE CAN BE STRENGTHENED AND TENSIONS REDUCED AROUND THE WORLD, ALLIES AND ADVERSARIES ALIKE NOW KNOW THAT WHEN AMERICA MAKES A COMMITMENT, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL HONOR IT, AS THEY HONORED IT IN VIETNAM.

AND BECAUSE OF THAT, THE ROAD WILL BE EASIER IN THE YEARS AHEAD. THANKS TO THIS THE FALLEN DID NOT FALL IN VAIN, AND LONG AFTER THE BITTERNESS HAS PASSED AWAY, THE MORALITY AND THE JUSTNESS OF OUR SACRIFICES IN VIETNAM WILL BE REMEMBERED.

FOR THE PAST DAYS THE FLAGS ACROSS AMERICA HAVE FLOWN AT HALF-MAST IN MOURNING FOR TWO GREAT AMERICANS WHO LED US IN TIME OF WAR, FORMER PRESIDENTS HARRY TRUMAN AND LYNDON JOHNSON.

DAYS STILL REMAIN IN THE TRADITIONAL 30 DAY MOURNING PERIOD FOR LYNDON JOHNSON, WHO DIED ONLY HOURS BEFORE THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR.

FORTUNATELY, PRESIDENT JOHNSON KNEW THAT THAT SETTLEMENT WAS ON THE WAY. IN HIS LAST HOURS HE WAS COMFORTED BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT A GOAL HE HAD WORKED SO HARD FOR WAS FINALLY ABOUT TO BE REALIZED.

THAT IS WHY, AFTER CONSULTING WITH MRS. JOHNSON, I ORDERED THAT THE AMERICAN FLAG SHOULD FLY AT FULL STAFF TO HONOR OUR RETURNING PRISONERS OF WAR, AND TO SYMBOLIZE THE FACT THAT, EVEN AS WE MOURN THE PASSING OF LYNDON JOHNSON, WE ALSO GIVE THANKS FOR THE PEACE WITH HONOR HE HELPED US TO ACHIEVE.

SO, TODAY, AS WE REMEMBER THE OTHERS WHO GAVE SO MUCH FOR US, LET US ALSO REJOICE THAT THEIR SACRIFICE HAS BORNE THE FRUIT OF PEACE. AND LET THE SIGHT OF THE AMERICAN FLAG REMIND US THAT, ONCE AGAIN, THE DARKNESS HAS GIVEN WAY TO THE LIGHT, AND AMERICA HAS COME TO THE END OF A LONG ORDEAL, SOUND IN HEART AND SPIRIT, AND WITH OUR FLAG PROUDLY FLYING.

END OF MESSAGE
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